1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–138.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah,* occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kif* (*Cannabis indica,* a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom